

Congressman

# Vito Marcantonio speaks out

## Against



# THIS WAR

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# Congressman Vito Marcantonio Speaks Out Against This War

*On February 5 Congressman Vito Marcantonio rose on the floor of the House and delivered an historic speech against the war, speaking against HR 1776, the Lend-Lease Bill.*

*He named names. He revealed for the first time in Congress documents which the Administration had tried to hush up. He hammered home fact upon fact which nobody could either deny or refute. He unfolded for America the real, rank, inside story of how and why we are being driven into war against the wishes of 85% of the people.*

*It was a great speech—and one every American must read and understand. Here it is. Study it with care—and then Speak Out For Peace.*

*—The American Peace Mobilization.*

**M**R. MARCANTONIO. Mr. Chairman, I rise at this time not only to explain my opposition to this bill but to repeat the reasons I have advanced in the past for my opposition to similar legislation and ensuing appropriations.

Last year I found myself in the position where I cast the lone vote against this type of legislation and ensuing appropriations on five different occasions. I did so not because I am opposed to the defense of my country, its institutions, and its people; I did so not because I am opposed to national defense. I am for national defense, but genuine national defense. My opposition to this legislation is based on the proposition that we are not legislating and we are not appropriating for defense; we are legislating and we are appropriating for armaments in pursuance not of a peace policy for defense, in pursuance not of a policy of defending our shores, defending our institutions, defending our people, but in pursuance of a program of launching this country into a war, not for defense, not for democracy, but for imperialism.

This war-armament program began on May 16 when the President of the United States addressed the joint session of the Congress and asked tremendous appropriations for planes, munitions, and all sorts of armaments. At that time I felt that it was the beginning of a blitzkrieg against the peace and freedom of the American people. I felt that it was similar to and tragically reminiscent of the preparedness days of 1916. In 1916 a similar program of armament was sold to the American people under the catch-all word of preparedness. Now it has been sold to the American people under the catch-all phrase of national defense.

I felt then, in May, that these armaments would be used as a vehicle which of its own momentum would catapult us into this war. I submit that time and events since May have made my position a correct one.

First of all, there has been the appropriation of \$17,000,000,000, plus what else we are going to appropriate. I stated then that we were converting our country into a tremendous military reservoir to be used by one side against the other side. This in and of itself was unneutral, and aside from international law was the inexorable movement into war. It was bound by its own mo-

mentum to plunge us into war. It was bound to lead us step by step into a program of armaments, conscription, war, and dictatorship; step by step we have witnessed the march of events in that program.

Let us see what has happened since May 16, 1940. I said in May and in June that these armaments were converting this country into a military reservoir to be used by one side against the other. When the President addressed this session of Congress he did not use the term "military reservoir" but did say that we were to become an arsenal for democracy. No honest person can dispute that point. We have been and are becoming more and more with blitzkrieg speed an arsenal or military reservoir for one side as against the other in an imperialist and commercial war. It is just a question of time before manpower will have to be utilized in the further of the arsenal plan, or the military-reservoir plan. I called it back in June, 1940.

Once we have become an arsenal for democracy or a military reservoir, from an economic and armaments standpoint we are actually in war, and you cannot get away from that. When we are going to use men is a question of time, but from the standpoint of being actually in war on one side and against the other, we are in that war as a result of having become a military reservoir or an arsenal through the medium of armaments for which we are asked to vote again today. Thus the issue presented by this bill and all similar legislation and appropriations are not defense as you have been calling it but the furtherance of a military reservoir or arsenal program for war, for an imperialist war.

I stated at that time that armaments were the first step, and when we had the first bill here I said that the next step would be conscription. Nobody believed me then, but conscription came, and came so fast that the American people did not even have an opportunity to analyze the proposal that converted 17,000,000 men into 17,000,000 numbers.

Then from conscription on, we see what? We see that every action that has been taken by either the Congress or the President—and we must assume our responsibility as well as try to place it on the President—has been a step in the direction of going into war. I am going to be told, "We are not appropriating to go into war, we are

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appropriating for defense." It is not your word or my word that counts. Men, nations, and institutions are judged by time and events. I submit that time and events since the first bill of this character was enacted have demonstrated conclusively—and there is not a man in this body who does not feel it deep down in his heart—that we have been going speedily but surely in the direction of war.

If we want to go to war to save so-called British democracy or to extend Wall Street imperialism, say so and let us debate it on that issue. Let us not take these steps under camouflaged terminology. Let us not take these war-like steps under pretenses and guises of national defense. This is not national defense.

The Senate Committee on Naval Affairs on the day before the President addressed the Congress unanimously reported that this country could not be successfully invaded by any nation or any combination of nations. I have a great deal of respect for my friend, the gentleman from Georgia, the distinguished and able chairman of this committee, but at the same time I have in my hand a report filed on May 15, 1940, a unanimous report of the Senate Committee on Naval Affairs. May I read from it:

"From the military point of view the United States must be considered as an insular nation. We are separated from potential enemies on the east and west by broad and deep oceans. On our northern and southern borders are nations which have been friendly heretofore. Across these land frontiers could come no armies of sufficient strength to menace our security. Our situation is not similar to that of the British at the present time. Prior to the advent of air power the British Isles were insular countries. This complete insularity is now compromised in the military sense in that they are subject to damaging attack by aircraft based on the Continent.

"The armies of Europe and Asia do not menace us. To be a menace they must be transported across the sea in ships. Airplanes based on the Continents of Europe and Asia do not menace us. To threaten seriously our continental security they must be conveyed across the sea and operated from bases in or near this hemisphere.

"The armed forces of no foreign nation or group of nations can seriously threaten our continental security if we make sure that we command the seas which separate us from all potential enemies."

### BIGGEST AND BEST—FOR WHAT?

The President himself stated in that same fatal speech of May 16, 1940, that we had the biggest and best Navy in the world. Hence, why this extraordinary armament program? Not for defense, not for peace; but for offense and wars.

Mr. VINSON of Georgia. May I say that, notwithstanding the unanimous report of the Senate Naval Affairs Committee which the gentleman just read, they immediately authorized an 81 percent increase to provide for an Atlantic Fleet. If their position was sound, why was it necessary to authorize an addition of 81 percent?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. The gentleman has asked that question, and I am compelled to give a frank answer, and I will tell you why. Because this war hysteria which has been created by armaments, under the guise of national sense, has created a situation where everything goes

overboard—truth, reason, and justice—despite what was said in the days of calm, rational action by legislators in this country. I am sorry to make that statement, but it is the truth.

I maintain this war is not a war of ideals; it is not a war for the preservation of one system as against another system, because while there may be some difference between the tyranny of Hitlerism and that of British imperialism over one-fifth of the total world, that difference is one of degree, and the degree is so small as not to warrant any one justly to say that this is a war between the democratic forces of the world and the Nazi forces of the world.

### PUPPETS vs. DEMOCRACY

Let us analyze Churchill's appeal, for instance, to the Italian people as a piece of conclusive evidence. Churchill did not ask the Italian people to overthrow fascism; he did not ask them to extirpate from the Italian Peninsula the tyrannical rule of fascism. In referring to Mussolini, all he asked the Italian people to do was simply to change their leader; but at no time did he ask them to change their system; at no time did he ask them to establish in the Italian Peninsula a democracy. A Fascist Italy on the side of British imperialism is all that Churchill sought. He was not interested in a democratic Italy. Fascism in Italy is satisfactory to Churchill if it serves the rulers of Britain.

Now, the same Great Britain which keeps 300,000,000 people enslaved in India, the same Great Britain which keeps millions of people enslaved and subjected to the worst kind of exploitation in Africa, the same Great Britain that does the same thing in Bermuda, the British West Indies, in China, and all over the world, is certainly not the Great Britain which is going to give democracy to Norway, Belgium, Germany, Italy, and any other of the subjected nations. Democracy in these countries would be disastrous to the interests of British commercial exploitation. It is the same Great Britain that built up and financed Hitler, the same Great Britain that sold out the democratic forces that were fighting in Spain, the same Great Britain that surrendered—not surrendered but made a deal—at Munich. The only question that is being fought in the war today is whether in these conquered states there shall be established governments which shall be the puppets of British imperialism or whether there shall be established governments which shall be the puppets of Nazi imperialism, and as for imperialism, whether it is British imperialism or Nazi imperialism, the American people have nothing to expect from any kind of imperialism, including Wall Street imperialism, except destruction, death, starvation, and exploitation.

### HOW TO WIN

By building and extending our own democracy and by cooperating with people who are genuinely fighting for democracy, Hitlerism will be overthrown.

Mr. MAY. As I understand the situation here today, we are considering the practical position in which we are placed. This country has taken a definite stand on a public sentiment that is unquestionably in favor of England in this war. Now, if the question ever comes of an invasion of this country, and if such a thing should happen that the British and the French Navies should fall into the control of Hitler, it is not the wisest thing that we

can do to prepare to meet them on the seas with a convoy of battleships?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. The answer to that is that you are not preparing for that. You are preparing to get into that conflict of imperialism.

Can the gentleman from Kentucky guarantee to us and to his constituents that after we have plunged into this war, Great Britain or Europe will not become totalitarian, and if Great Britain does become totalitarian—and incidentally it is becoming totalitarian every day, and I charge further that it is totalitarian as a matter of fact—then is the gentleman so naive as to believe that totalitarian British imperialism is going to be less antagonistic to our brand of imperialism or to the interests of our country than Hitler imperialism?

Mr. COLMER. What I want to know is this: Would the gentleman just leave us entirely to the mercy of a world that is on the warpath?

### HYSTERIA IS NO DEFENSE

Mr. MARCANTONIO. I have answered that question, as I have already shown you, by the Senate Naval Affairs Committee unanimous report, written in normal times before this hysteria, which shows that with our set-up of May 15, 1940, together with normal and reasonable appropriations, we are not subject to invasion and cannot be invaded by any nation or combination of nations. I voted for things that I believed to be strictly in the interests of national defense. I voted for the erection of a second lock in the Panama Canal. There was a roll-call vote on that, and the gentleman can look it up if he desires. I did not oppose yesterday's bill, which was a repair bill, essentially, a bill to modernize the existing Navy, but I shall continue to oppose inordinate expansion, the building of armaments which I know are not needed strictly for national defense, but which I know are going to be used strictly in furtherance of an imperialist war. The fact that we gave away 50 destroyers, which everyone knows were not obsolete, and the fact that under the lend-lease bill you propose to give the President power to lend, lease, or give away more ships, belies the strictly national-defense argument advanced to justify this war-armaments program.

Now, if I may continue, I voted against these bills first because I am convinced that, as a result of a study by the Senate Naval Affairs Committee, our country cannot be invaded either by one nation or a combination of nations, and everybody knows that, except that we will not admit it; secondly, because under the guise of national defense we have prepared a program of armaments which has made us a military reservoir or an arsenal for so-called democracy, and which is used by one set of imperialistic contenders against another set of imperialistic contenders, thereby catapulting us into this war. My third reason for opposing this armament program is that under the guise of national defense we have used national defense to sacrifice the general welfare of the American people. You farm Representatives, you are going to sweat blood on the floor of this House in trying to get parity, you are going to sweat blood to get an appropriation which you received last year, and I shall vote with you as I did then. As to the W. P. A. workers, you say that they are going to be absorbed in the national defense. Oh, yes, the skilled workers, to a certain extent.

### WHERE'S THE HEALTH PROGRAM?

What are you going to do with the unskilled workers? Under the proposed Budget you are cutting \$400,000,000 from the W. P. A. workers. Under the guise of national defense you have taken the proposed health program, of which the President spoke a year and a half ago, and you have never heard another word about it. What of the housing program? Those of us who stood by the President during the 7 years of the New Deal, who believed in slum clearance and good housing, have seen that go overboard, sacrificed on the altar of this false national defense.

National defense. I am for that with all my life and blood, but not for armaments, which mean war, dictatorship, and the destruction of the social and economic gains and freedom of the American people. For that reason I shall oppose this bill if I have to do it alone.

The very most important question that has confronted the people of the United States since the declaration of war in 1917 is being kept from the American people by a maze of confusion, probably not purposely done by some people but certainly this confusion results from a conspiracy to becloud the real issues involved in the proposed legislation and the real implications involved throughout the promulgation of the present pro-war policy which we have been pursuing since May 16, 1940, when the President launched the present blitzkrieg against the peace and freedom of the American people from the rostrum of this chamber. If the American people were made to realize by a clear presentation of the facts on the part of the press and on the part of the radio that the policy of armaments as an arsenal for one side of the belligerents as against the other side necessarily and inexorably leads to participation by actual conflict, and if the American people were made to realize the war implications involved in the policy of aid to Britain by means of converting the United States into an arsenal for so-called democracy, I am certain that these selfsame American people who are definitely opposed to war would likewise be opposed to this policy of aid to Britain and its corollary policy of making the United States an arsenal for alleged democracy.

### UNIFORMS FOR AMERICAN YOUTH

Mr. Chairman, everything has been done since the President addressed the Congress of the United States on the 16th day of May to keep from the masses of America the course involved in this policy, to wit, the inexorable course toward war which this policy sets forth. We first sold this war program to the American people in the month of May 1940 by calling it national defense. We were told that the country was in imminent danger of invasion and that it was necessary to pursue an armament program. Subsequently we were told that since we had the armament we must provide the men. So we adopted a policy of militarizing the American youth by conscription. Then slowly we began to drop the national-defense angle a little bit and we permitted to creep out in public something which was a little more bold.

This was the program of aid to Britain short of war. Of course all of the papers, all of the radios, and all of the instrumentalities of propaganda in this country, which incidentally are controlled by monopoly capital, the same forces that were responsible for the last European war

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and the same forces that are responsible for this war, naturally did not bring out to the American people the implications that were involved in aid short of war; namely, that aid short of war simply shortened the distance between peace and war for the people of the United States.

So they sold that idea and they sold it very cleverly by means of bringing about a sort of political false national unity in the last campaign, and I refer to the strangest political campaign that we have ever seen, the Presidential election of 1940, where both candidates had no difference whatsoever on this question of aid to Britain short of war. In fact, they both agreed on a program of armaments, conscription, and war, not for democracy, but for imperialism. However, they did not let the people know their real intentions. They used weasel words of keeping America out of foreign wars; but were actually agreed on an imperialist war program. This incidentally has been borne out by the conduct of the defeated candidate for President of the United States during the last 3 weeks.

This utility barefoot boy went over to England and strolled along the streets of London in Horatio Alger's hero style. You know, the man who came up the hard way, with his locks over his forehead and his tie askew. The husky-voiced crusader for the "Commonwealth" people of America came upon the debris and the wreckage caused by the Nazi bombs and when he looked upon this wreckage he made a great contribution to world literature. He said, "Gee, it's awful." That contribution is going to go down in the history of world literature alongside the Sermon on the Mount and the Gettysburg Address.

### WILLKIE "TOOK A DIVE"

His conduct there and his attitude on this bill are an effort to carry out the purposes of that queer campaign—namely, to take over the 22,000,000 who voted against his opponent to the side of the President's war policy. This conduct proves what I charged during the political campaign—that there was no difference between these two candidates. Essentially they were both pro-war candidates, and Mr. Willkie, in particular, reminded me of a prize fighter who had been sent into the ring under agreement to take a dive. His attitude proves conclusively that he carried a towel in his trunks, and I am sorry for his managers, because they must have had an awful job keeping him from throwing in that towel in the first round. [Applause.]

So we find the tired, husky-voiced crusader of the common "wealth" [laughter] people now confusing the 22,000,000 people who voted for him and who supported him because they did not want war. We also find an awful lot of confusion created by some of the opposition to this bill, because I maintain that in all honesty anybody who advocates aid to England, who believes in all-out aid to England, cannot very well criticize the basic features of this bill.

### AN ARSENAL FOR BANDITS

Mr. Chairman, I am opposed to this bill because I am opposed to converting this country into an arsenal, not an arsenal for democracy, if you please, but an arsenal in pursuance of a policy which would catapult the American people into a war which is not a war for democracy but a war for the maintenance of the present British imperialist interests. a war between two gangs of imperial-

istic bandits, one gang who stole yesterday and one gang who is trying to steal today. This war, which we are told is a war for democracy in order to force us into it, should be analyzed from every aspect. Of course, it is now also being sold to the American people as a war for Christianity, as Lord Halifax said in a radio speech some time ago.

I have never known of any imperialistic war that has ever succeeded in increasing Christianity or democracy. One thing I also know is that this war is just as imperialistic in character as the last war, and I shall develop that point as I go along in my speech. They are trying to sell this as a war for Christianity, as a war for democracy. I think the best evidence of the character of this war is the representative that this so-called democracy has sent here.

Lord Halifax, or, as the British workers who are now living in the subways of London while his friends live in exclusive underground hotels, call him "Lord Holy Fox" [laughter], despite his cadaverous appearance of an unwrapped Egyptian mummy, he is the one who is sent here to tell us that he and his fellow rulers of Britain and the British Empire are the champions of democracy, that they are fighting this war for democracy. It is the same Lord Halifax who has betrayed democracy on every occasion he has had contact with it; the same Halifax who betrayed the people of Spain when they were fighting for their democracy; the same Halifax who betrayed democracy at Munich and sold it down the river and made a deal with Hitler; the same Halifax who is part of that Cliveden group in England that gave money to Hitler, that built up this Frankenstein in the hope that Hitler would march eastward toward Russia; the same Lord Halifax who as Viceroy of India sent 47,000 Indians to jail because they asked for the independence and freedom of their country. This same Lord Halifax, who has been the spokesman for the appeasement faction in England for many, many years, was unfortunately greeted right up here by the President of the United States. I cannot help but remember my history, that the last time a British battleship came this near to Washington was when the British redcoats burned the White House and the Capitol of the United States.

### BUSINESS AS USUAL

He is supposed to be a spokesman of democracy. Is not the very presence of this man as a representative of the British interests indicative of the character of the war that is being waged today, not for democracy but for the preservation of empire?

If that does not convince you, let me point out something else as to the character of the war that is now being waged. This will come as a surprise to many of my colleagues, and I now present unquestionable and irrefutable evidence that today British financiers and German financiers, the representatives of Adolf Hitler, are still doing business. They are still conducting business for profit among themselves, yet we are told that they are fighting to destroy Hitlerism. Let us see whether they are fighting Hitlerism or are seeking to protect their financial and other imperialist interests.

I refer to the report of the Bank for International Settlements which was issued on May 27, 1940. On the list of the board of this bank you will find the names of the

following gentlemen: Montagu Norman, Governor of the Bank of England, and Dr. Funk, director of Hitler's economic policy, as joint directors; Van Zeeland, as manager of the bank; with two other German bankers, three Frenchmen, two Italians, a Dutchman, a Swiss, and a Swede as the other directors.

The bank makes the interesting commentary: it "undertakes only such operations as are irreproachable from the point of view of both the belligerent and other countries. In December 1939 certain rules of conduct which the bank had as a matter of fact observed since the month of September were codified and brought to the knowledge of its clients."

### "ARE YOU CONVINCED . . . ?"

You who are asking us to follow a policy which will inevitably plunge us into actual conflict, not plunge us in war, because we are in that war from the standpoint of armaments—from the standpoint of having put our country on a war-economy basis we are actually in war—you are asking us to go further into that war, and inevitably, for now that you have become this arsenal and this military reservoir, you are bound to engage in actual conflict. You are asking us to do that for what? For democracy? Are you convinced in your hearts that this clash between Great Britain and Hitler is a clash for the preservation of our way of life, that it is a clash for idealism, that it is a clash for democracy and the maintenance of democratic principles throughout the world? Can you be convinced of that in the face of the fact that you have here as Ambassador one of the chief appeasers of Hitlerism, and that you have here concrete proof that the monopoly capitalists of England are still doing business with the monopoly capitalists of Nazi Germany?

Mr. CREAL. According to the kind of government they have, if there is no difference, if the gentleman shifted his citizenship tomorrow for life, where would he prefer to live, in Germany or in England, with their known customs, laws, and permits?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. That is not a fair question, for the simple reason that I prefer to live in my own country, the United States. The question is so hypothetical that you cannot expect anyone to give a concrete answer. My point, however, is that, while there may be a difference between the ruthless course of British imperialism and that of Nazi Germany, the difference is one of degree, and that degree is so small that it does not warrant us in pursuing an arsenal policy such as this bill provides, which will push us further into war and force us to shed the blood of our youth and spend billions of our dollars.

Mr. CREAL. Does the gentleman call it a small matter when one country preserves the 12-man jury system, freedom of the press, and freedom of religion, which one country has and one does not? Does the gentleman call those things small difference?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Oh, but your premise is wrong. Where is this freedom of Britain, which censors and suppresses the antiwar press and conscripts labor; in the Britain which is ruled by Tories who were elected 5 years ago and act toward the people as though they were ruling five centuries ago? I ask you, what freedom of the press, and what freedom is there for 300,000,000 people in India? What freedom does England give to the Indian people? I ask you, what freedom is there that Britain gives to

the exploited natives of South Africa; to the Boers down in South Africa? I ask you, what freedom is it that Great Britain gives which is any different from the freedom that the Nazis give Norway; in the exploitation of millions of people in the British West Indies?

Ah, when we talk about freedom, let us not just point to the lack of freedom in Nazi Germany. Let us also realize the lack of freedom that exists in one-fifth of the world that is under the British Empire, and you cannot get away from that.

Let me give you an example of what is going on in India today. We are going to send bombers to the British Government. Today bombers are being employed in dropping bombs on natives in the hills of northern India. Sure, those facts do not come out. You do not think for a minute that the British censors are going to let that out, but Indians are in this country who have recently arrived here, and they have told me personally that Indian people in the northern hills of India are being bombed by British bombers because those people are seeking freedom from the exploitation and enslavement of British imperialism.

Certainly, I say I do not want to see a Hitler victory, but I am likewise opposed to a victory of British imperialism, or, for that matter, even Wall Street imperialism. All imperialism means enslavement of the working class throughout the world, and particularly enslavement of the people in our own country, if we pursue an imperialistic war course.

### AXIS vs. AXIS

I say that America's greatest threat lies in three forces: One from Hitlerism, a Hitler victory; two, from a British imperialist victory; and, three, the most imminent danger to the welfare of the American people is by plunging the United States of America into this imperialist war [applause], because we are not going into a war at the termination of which there will be established democracy and justice throughout Europe; but, on the contrary, we are going into a war in pursuance of the imperialist policies not only of Great Britain but of the United States Wall Street imperialist interests as well. I intend to develop the thought that what we are about to accomplish just now, and what we have really accomplished, is the formation of a new axis. In this imperialist world crisis as opposed to the Rome-Tokyo-Berlin Axis, we have formed the Wall Street-Downing Street Axis, and the worst thing for America is a triumph of either one of those two axes. The best thing for the American people is to bring about the defeat of both of these axes, and the most important thing that the American people can do to bring about the defeat of the Wall Street-Downing Street Axis, as well as of the Rome-Tokyo-Berlin Axis, is to remain at peace, to build up our democracy, to give work to the unemployed of America, and to preserve civil and constitutional liberties in the greatest democracy in the world.

Now, what kind of government does England have today? Ambassador Kennedy testified, and he said as follows, on page 237 of the hearings:

"But, nevertheless, I said very definitely in a speech I made for President Roosevelt, that when the war came on the 6th day of May last year the British passed a bill in 2 hours debate, and democracy went out of the window."

Of course you are going to say that this is just tem-

porary, despite the fact that China and Spain were able to continue a war without destroying their own democracy.

I think what the country ought to have is Ambassador Kennedy's confidential report.

### WHAT KENNEDY SAID

He filed a confidential report with the State Department and the State Department suppressed it and will not release it. Apologists for the State Department say that these documents are not released until 17 years afterward, but that was not the case when Ambassador Bullitt went on the air and slandered the workers of France, falsely charging them with causing the defeat of France. When Colonel Donovan came back with a report and tried to blame France's collapse on labor legislation, not only was he permitted to release his report, but further than that, Colonel Knox wrote a preface for that report which was published in the press. I have before me a small newspaper entitled "In Fact," gotten out by a gentleman whom I personally know, George Seldes, in whom I have utmost confidence. On January 13, 1941, he printed excerpts from that report. To this day the authenticity of the publication of this report has not been challenged, and I challenge the State Department to refute the authenticity of this report. This report, as we say in my district, is "the McCoy," it is the real goods.

Here are the conclusions that Mr. Seldes derives from that report, which I repeat is reprinted in his paper *In Fact*, dated January 13, 1941. He says that this report was filed by Mr. Johnson, counselor of the Embassy, for the Ambassador, dated London, October 10, 1940. Here are the conclusions derived from that report:

First. That England is proceeding rapidly toward fascism on the Nazi model.

Second. That fascism cannot be sold the British people without the enthusiastic cooperation of the Minister of Labor, Ernest Bevin.

Third. That the people of England—the working people—are paying for the war, while the Government makes great concessions to the industrialists, munitions makers and big business.

Fourth. That the Government is not able to protect its people against air raids.

### WHY THE SECRECY?

I had hoped that the State Department might meet the challenge issued by this publication. If we are going to defend England as a democracy, if England is our first line of defense, and our Ambassador files a report to the effect that England is no longer a democracy, why does not the State Department—the Administration—release that information to the American people, so that we can debate this question with our eyes open?

Mr. CREAL. In speaking of that very informal and undemocratic method of the British Parliament in passing a bill within an hour without debate, had the same question been up in Germany, I presume the bill would first have been referred to a house committee, and after the house committee reported it would have then gone to the rules committee, with ample debate and full discussion before being agreed to by the Reichstag?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Perhaps they might have taken a half hour less in Germany to pass the bill instead of

2 hours. Is that a reason why we should pursue a policy to get us into war, to defend the government that destroys democracy in 2 hours' time against the government that destroyed its democracy in 1½ hours' time? If the gentleman wants that distinction to justify our going into the war, he is welcome to it.

### WE HELP JAPAN

China! What is our policy toward democratic China, which is being used as a bait to get people to support this kind of legislation? We loaned China \$100,000,000. Ask the Chinese representative what they have been able to buy here. They have been unable to buy a single war article of any consequence by which they could prosecute the war of defense against Japanese aggression. This may astound you, but check up this statement at the State Department and you will find it is true. For the past 6 months, instead of our exports to Japan declining, our exports to Japan during the last 6 months have been larger than at any other time during the period commencing with the invasion of China by Japan. We are increasing our exports to Japan. What is our game over there? It is very obvious. We give China just a little bit to keep Japan busy, but never will we give China sufficient to make China win, so as to establish a democratic China, because a genuinely democratic China will be antagonistic to the imperialist interests not only of Japan but of Downing Street or Wall Street as well, and will never permit the exploitation which we, in conjunction with Japan and Downing Street, are conducting in China.

When I voted against these allegedly national-defense bills I said they were constituting this country into a military reservoir for one side as against the other; that they were not being used strictly for national defense. I said that in June. The press and others called me names in the months following June 1940, but the President came here in January 1941 and said that we had to become an arsenal, and he said an arsenal for democracy. That is where I disagree with him.

We are an arsenal, but not an arsenal for democracy. Therefore I will vote hundreds of millions of dollars for the strict defense of my country, but I will not vote for these appropriations since time and events have demonstrated conclusively that we have not been appropriating for the defense of our Nation, but rather we have appropriated in preparation to catapulting this country into an imperialist war, and being opposed to that imperialist war, I refuse to appropriate for anything that catapults us into that war.

### BIG BUSINESS SPEAKS

Now, I would like to tell you what the representatives of monopoly capital say. This is right straight from Wall Street. The National Industrial Conference Board, 247 Park Avenue, New York City, is one of the important research bureaus for the monopoly finance and monopoly business. Mr. Virgil Jordan, its president, made a speech before the Investment Bankers Association at Hollywood, Fla., on December 10th last year.

We are not fooling the people of South America. We may hear grandiose speeches from certain South American dictators talking about the kind of protection we are giving them. The people of Latin America know that the kind of protection we are giving them is the kind of protection

Al Capone gave the Chicago businessmen. [Laughter.] We are exploiting South America, we are following the course of empire with regard to South America, economic and commercial exploitation is our order of the day in South America. And these dictators down in South America, who put them there? Who was responsible for these dictators? Who established the dictators in South America? We may as well answer those questions for the American people because the people of Latin America know the answer.

Our State Department knows the role we have played in the establishment of dictatorships in Latin America. The only time we shall have real Pan Americanism, the only time the Latin American people will believe our good faith in the good-neighbor policy, will be when we show to the people of South America that not only are we in favor of keeping Hitler out of South America but that we are likewise opposed to keeping all kinds of exploitation and imperialism out of South America, including the Wall Street brand.

### ENGLAND A JUNIOR PARTNER

Mr. Virgil Jordan said:

"Whatever the outcome of the war, America has embarked upon a career of imperialism, both in world affairs and in every other aspect of life, with all the opportunities, responsibilities, and perils which that implies. This war inevitably involves a vast revolution in the balance of political and economic power, not only internationally but internally. Even though, by our aid, England should emerge from this struggle without defeat, she will be so impoverished economically and crippled in prestige that it is improbable she will be able to resume or maintain the dominant position in world affairs which she has occupied so long.

"At best, England will become a junior partner in a new Anglo-Saxon imperialism, in which the economic resources and the military and naval strength of the United States will be the center of gravity. Southward in our hemisphere and westward in the Pacific the path of empire takes its way, and in modern terms of economic power as well as political prestige, the scepter passes to the United States.

"Whatever the facts about this war may have been or are now, it must be unmistakably clear to any intelligent person that we are engaged in it. Our Government has committed the American community to participation in this war as the economic ally of England, and as her spiritual, if not her political partner in her struggle with the enemies of the British Empire everywhere in the world, to help prevent, if possible, their destruction of the Empire, and if this should not be possible, to take her place as the heir and residuary legatee or receiver for whatever economic and political assets of the Empire may survive her defeat."

Whereas we are following the course of empire here, my colleagues, we have formed the Wall Street-Downing Street Axis, with Great Britain gradually taking the role of junior partner in that axis. I refuse to follow an empire course which will inevitably lead to the shedding of the blood of American people and which will mean the spending of the dollars of American taxpayers. Empire for America means death for American liberty. Let us follow this a little further—and I refer this argument to

my colleagues, particularly my New Deal friends who were opposed to the economic royalists, who were opposed to the 60 families, the exploiters of America—and yet we are told that we are fighting this battle for the defense of democracy. But when I look around and see the people who are espousing this cause of defense for this democracy, whom do I find? John Pierpont Morgan, Thomas W. Lamont, the Chase National Bank, the du Ponts.

### THEY STILL THINK OF PROFIT

I thought they were the economic royalists. I thought they were the enemies of the people. I believed it then, I believe it now. The difference between the New Dealers and me today is that they believed it then but they deny it now, that these people were, have been, and always will be the enemies of the working people of America, of the common people of America, and of America's democracy. They are the forces aligned on the side of war, on the side of this legislation which makes war inevitable, on the side of imperialism. They are now on your side. I am still against them. We find that these forces have always opposed labor legislation, we find that these forces have always opposed the extension of democracy to the farms, to the cities, to the mines, to the mills, and to the factories of this country. You tell me this is a fight for democracy and I yet find them espousing this aid-to-Britain cause, this arsenal policy and this legislation. Would they support all this if this program were really for democracy? These enemies of democracy support his program because they know it to be an imperialist war program, more profits for them and the end of freedom of the American people. It is historically tragic that they have taken you into their camp.

Remember, Lord Halifax, John Pierpont Morgan, the Chase National Bank, the du Ponts, the utility companies—every bit of monopoly capital and its representatives—are behind this legislation. They, I repeat, are enemies of democracy. Do you still believe this policy one for democracy?

This legislation means the death of peace in America. We will go to war, not for democracy, we will go to war for imperialism; we will go to war for the Wall Street-Downing Street axis—a new axis contending for world control and world empire. I do not want my Nation to be an empire. I want my Nation to remain a free nation, not an empire—a country of a free people breathing the free air of a free nation, collaborating with the democratic people throughout the world for world democracy. By building up our democracy and collaborating with democratic people in the world we will guarantee the end of Hitlerism throughout the world.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, I fought for the unemployed, for the farmers, and for labor. I voted for every bill that was essentially and strictly a national-defense bill on the floor of this House. I fought for constitutional and civil rights in this House and throughout the country. May I say to the gentleman that if we follow the course advocated by him, which will inevitably plunge us into this imperialist war, you, not I, will help destroy the freedom that we all love. [Applause.]

In conclusion this lend-lease bill lends America's youth to war and leases America's institutions to the Wall Street-Downing Street imperialist axis. [Applause.]

# **CALL to the American People's Meeting, N. Y. C., April 5-6, 1941**

To All Friends of Peace and Liberty:

**FELLOW AMERICANS—**

## **We Are in Danger**

The tragic days of 1917 and an AEF are almost here again. Our trade unions are under attack. The right to strike is being taken away. Our farmers are being driven from their land; their products are selling below cost. We are paying more for food. Our rents are being increased. Our wages are being held down. Unemployment continues and our relief is being cut.

Discrimination against our Negro people is increasing. Attacks against the Jewish people are being intensified. Our non-citizens have been finger-printed. There are virtually no jobs for youth. Four million people are being placed under military law. Congress continues to deny the vote to ten million American citizens. Minority parties are being rapidly suppressed. We are being intimidated and spied upon. Our persons and our papers are being seized without warrant. Our Constitutional rights are being taken from us.

This is how democracy was blacked out in Germany and in France, how it is being blacked out in England, and how it will be blacked out here unless labor and the people unite and act.

These things have happened to us because our statesmen and economic royalists are violating the will of the people. Men in high places are dragging us into war three thousand miles away.

This is not a war to wipe out the evils of Hitlerism and tyranny. It is not a war to liberate the people of Germany or France, India or Ireland, Africa or Asia. It is not a war to defend democracy. It is a war to line the pockets of corporate interests at the expense of the peoples of the World.

The Tory bill 1776 would enable these corporate interests to drag America more deeply into this war. It would give the President of the United States the power:—

To get us into total war against the will of the people; To substitute government by decree for constitutional government; To disregard any law on the books; To give away our ships, our planes, our guns, our vital resources to any foreign country.

"All out" aid to the British Empire or any other such warring empire means total war for the American people.

## **There Is a Way Out**

The drive toward fascist rule in America and total war can be stopped. Sovereignty belongs to the people. A united people's anti-war movement can save America from the horrors of war and the barbarity of fascism. In order to:

Get out and stay out of World War II; Fight every step of war; Regain and strengthen our democracy; Defend the rights of labor; Work for a people's peace—

We call upon workers from mill mine and factory, from office and railroad and ship; upon the farmers; upon the unemployed; upon the churches; upon the Negro people, the women, the youth, the aged and all, to meet in their unions and organizations and shops and mass meetings and churches to elect and send their representatives to an American People's Meeting in the City of New York on April 5, and 6, 1941, to take the steps to mobilize the people for Peace, Liberty and the Common Welfare.

Signed,

**WORKING CONFERENCE FOR PEACE  
and  
AMERICAN PEACE MOBILIZATION**

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